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EAST TIMOR CNRM TIMOR LORO SAE
National Council of Maubere Resistance

CNRM-FALINTIL

XANANA GUSMAO END OF YEAR MESSAGE TO EAST TIMOR SOLIDARITY SUPPORTERS

To all solidarity groups and dear friends of East Timor the world over I send our greetings and most ardent hopes that 1995 will bring successes to our struggle. 1995 opens its door to receive our concerns and expectations, and to receive our plans, efforts and achievements. This is a ritual, repeated for a 19 years now, reminding us that we are entering the 20th year of the Indonesian invasion and military occupation of East Timor. Nineteen years have passed, and the most important difference to be noted is that the circumstances of 1975 are no longer compatible with conditions obtaining nowadays, and will never again repeat themselves.

1974 was full of factors which led to extensive analysis, and encouraged predictions and concerns, convictions and disappointments. As a natural result of the changed times, the two most important events of 1994 have been the end of the Apartheid regime, and the Middle East Peace Process. Politicians and government leaders are more and more disposed to acknowledge past mistakes, and have greater resolve to speed up the construction of the much longed for new world order. This will only be possible by defending the universal principles of freedom, justice and peace.

Despite a quick response to prevent a new attempted invasion of Kuwait, we still are regretting the inflexibility of the parties in dispute in the former Yugoslavia. Despite the return to power of a rightful government in Haiti, the internal conflicts in various parts of Africa are of concern. Besides efforts to create a new climate of peace and greater respect for universal principles, unfortunately there still persist reactionary forces which oppose humankind's efforts for peace, freedom and progress.

East Timor is a small example of this general struggle. The dictatorial and colonialist regime in Jakarta has tried everything to attempt diplomatic diversion manoeuvres to deceive the world into thinking that there is no need to resolve the issue of East Timor. Jakarta tried to pretend that a Portuguese general, who fought in Angola to preserve the 'unity and integrity' of the Portuguese empire, could, together with his business associate, represent Portugal and its people. However, Jakarta soon realised that the good old times, when more than half the world would applaud every new lie spread by its diplomacy, have gone not to return. Jakarta also again deceived itself when it commissioned its roving Ambassador, Lopes da Cruz, to carry out a new 'Balibo declaration' as

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part of an updated 'Operasi Komodo' together with Abilio Araujo. But 1994 is so far away from 1974 in every sense and for everybody, except for the mentality of the murderous Jakarta generals.

The East Timor issue has for the first time penetrated into the highly controlled neighbourhood, and the solidarity of the neighbouring peoples alarmed Jakarta, who quickly reacted as a regional bully, attempting to impose its will on neighbouring countries.

The third anniversary of the hideous Santa Cruz massacre was magnificently celebrated by the Maubere youth, proving once more to Jakarta that a people's nationalist conscience can not be bought, neither by rich nor by poor colonialists.

Sometimes I ask myself why, after 49 years of independence, the Indonesian rulers still find it necessary to praise the advances of the 'New Order' and stress to the people its difference with the colonial situation. Is it because of a lack of political topics, or is it due to a need to alienate the Indonesian people, as often done by the generals invoking a supposed communist threat? Is it the search of a common sacrificial lamb to marshal all the political and social forces into the shadow of the dictatorial regime? Is it that the generals still do not realise that the people are fed up and do no longer believe in the theory of an alleged communist threat? Is it that the generals have noted that the Indonesian people have realised that such topics are being utilised to 'unite' political sensibilities, with the intention of deviating public attention from the real ills of the regime? Have the Indonesian generals realised that the people are aware that the generals are keeping a death spectre, exaggerating its dangers, merely so as to justify ABRI's placement in the combat front line. With its 'dwi fungsi' ABRI is expected to be able to perpetuate their regime of corruption and repression over the Indonesian people.

The East Timor problem can be placed under these same questions, when we look at it from the perspective of the Indonesian generals.

We have always stated that if Jakarta tried to play with time, this would be the boomerang causing its defeat. All regimes oppressing and dominating peoples commit te same historical sins. They minimise that value of peoples' consciousness, they pretend that people are mere objects of regimes, that they are simple instruments of manipulation by power holders.

Colonialist and dictatorial regimes ultimately fall under the pressures of the times. However, before this can happen they display an ideology to legitimise their own conceptions about themselves. They justify in this way their crimes, the denial of freedom, the exploitation of peasants, social injustices, repression of workers. The political and financial elite rises on the basis of such costs. They usually are in the proximity of the

presidential family and of those favoured by the system, military officials, the true supporters of political power.

Dictatorial regimes are inflexible. The stronger they feel economically, the more arrogant they become in dictating to the world their repressive conceptions about principles and rights.

The Jakarta generals have waited for too long to appreciate a historical reality: the nationalist consciousness of the Maubere people is not killed by repression, nor is it suffocated by crimes.

Indonesia should realise that this is the appropriate moment for it to rehabilitate itself before universal principles of international law. Minister Ali Alatas defines te problem as a 'no-win situation', thus underlining the fact that UN maintains the political status of East Timor as a non self-governing territory. This clearly shows that the so-called 'provisional' or 'definitive' assemblies, elections, DPRs, which have been inflicted on East Timor during these past 19 years are simply not recognised as valid, let alone as legitimate.

This was the perception which led Ali Alatas to state to the DPR/MPR that while it may be easy to deceive the Indonesian people into believing that East Timor is already Indonesian, it is a different matter to do this with the world.

The Minister avoided saying that East Timor has already integrated into Indonesia, as he knows that this has never taken place, and that it merely could use the expression 'East Timor is mine' as it has in reality been occupying it militarily for the last 19 years.

We know that the reference to the problem made by President Bill Clinton to Suharto caused serious repercussions among many Indonesian politicians, who wish that East Timor stops for good being the pebble in Indonesia's diplomatic shoe, and a blood stain on the image of the country which holds the Chair of the Non Aligned Movement.

Apodeti members try to convince Suharto to grant a statute of autonomy to the '27th Province', but one gets the impression that Suharto no longer trusts anyone. The Indonesian dictator seems to think that by meeting Abilio Araujo, he will have taken a most appropriate step, opening a way for a solution. For this purpose, Lopes da Cruz and his wife, assisted by Tututs and the like, are hoping to mobilise East Timorese students in Indonesia on 7 January. By throwing a big Christmas/ New Year party they are hoping that Indonesian Television will be able to show an assembly of East Timorese in Indonesia as a sign of support for the group of Abilio Araujo.

Suharto does not wish to grant autonomy, may be because this does not feature in the strategies of the 'reconciliation' group. This group, in the

joint statements issued by rupiah-greedy Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz, has already placed totally out of question the denouncing of the cowardly and shameful invasion and the criminal military occupation of the territory.

In this way Jakarta is totally unprepared to present concrete ideas regarding a possible solution to the East timorese problem. We are almost certain that Ali Alatas will only be able to repeat once again what has been said for 19 years, namely that the East Timorese people have freely chosen integration; and that Jakarta will not accept a referendum, not because it may be worried that it may loose it, but because many people have suffered already.

And Ali Alatas will smile victoriously for having once again passed off one of his intelligent observations onto countries like Australia, Netherlands, or Spain for example. This way the Indonesian generals will have the feeling that despite the little problem of East Timor, Indonesian credibility is increasingly being strengthened at the international level.

And Ali Alatas will try to escape once more facing the fact that it is time to seek a solution. Only because Jakarta is not offering solutions.

Therefore, considering from the extremely high costs of keeping the East Timor war to the heavy burden which -as the DPR would say- needs to be borne by the passive and accommodating Indonesian East Timor diplomacy, CNRM sees no other truly just way out than the previously presented peace plan leading to a referendum.

Only this way will Indonesia be able to save its face in the wake of a conflict in which it has been placed as a violator of universal principles and of international law.

There is no solution possible which skirts around the essence of the problem. In essence this was and will remain a problem involving the UN.

1995 is the most appropriate year for Ali Alatas to prove that Jakarta finally accepts resolving the East Timor issue, as is befitting to the duties of a UN Security Council member.

1995 will be a year of changes. Changes in our own attitudes, both individually and collectively. Especially those of the East Timorese. Among ourselves, and between ourselves and yourselves. It will be a year of changes in attitudes by Jakarta, by politicians, by diplomats and by generals. 1995 demands these changes from all.

Finally, I wish to use this opportunity to express to all East Timor solidarity groups and to all our friends throughout the world our most sincere gratitude, our friendship and recognition for your constant dedication to the Maubere People's cause. The liberation of the East

Timor people will be an event also based on your political generosity and moral grandeur.

We wish each of you a very happy New Year. To all of you we send the love of our people, the embrace of the Falintil fighters, and a 'Hai amigos' from all the East Timorese political prisoners.

HOMELAND OR DEATH! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES ON ALL FRONTS! TO RESIST IS TO WIN!

For CNRM
signed
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao, CNRM Member, Commander of Falintil
Cipinang, Jakarta 31 December 1994